

HARDING ADDRESS TO DELEGATION

(Continued from Page One)

that even now are reaching out in their "perfect accord" to perpetuate the condition of extreme centralization from which America has suffered, to perpetuate the narcotic of phrases by which American citizenship was to be lulled into inactivity. What would Thomas Jefferson say to this? What do those Democrats who have looked upon their party as one entrusted with the safeguarding of local rights say to it? I think they, with us, contemplating the principles toward which these years of autocratic bungling have led us, will see that it is not only a privilege over which our prosperity may be hung, but over which sound American representative government might also be dragged, and that they with the great mass of Americans, will say "We have had enough."

When Americans say, as they do say "America first," they mean no one-man power, but our America as a people whose will is expressed through their representative government. They mean a nation of people whose citizenship is based upon a willingness of one to serve all, and not upon a program of herding into selfish groups, whose slogan is "What can I get?" They mean that "America first" is a spirit by which are preserved the rights of the one man, or the one group, or the one locality, only by a watchfulness by that individual, by that locality that the welfare of all America shall be preserved.

Four Sets of Obligations

Today, for example, you have come here from the Pacific coast of our country. I do not doubt that Americans on the coast are troubled in their minds about the oriental question, as it is called. That question raises every interpretation of our watchword. "America first" for it involves four sets of obligations: (1) involves our obligations to great foreign powers; (2) it involves the obligations of all America toward one group of American states and their peoples; but it also involves the obligations of that group of states to the nation.

There is abundant evidence of the dangers which lurk in racial differences. I am ever ready to recognize that the civilization of the orient is older than ours, that her peoples have their proud and honorable traditions. In spite of the honor of these oriental peoples and in spite of their contributions to the world's advancement, it is conceivable that they may be so different in racial characteristics or in manner of life or practice from other peoples of equal honor and achievements that no matter whether it be on the soil of one or upon the soil of the other, these differences, without raising any question of inferiority, superiority or inequality, may create, as I believe they have created upon our Pacific coast, without blame to either side, a situation that must be recognized. The nation owes it to the Pacific coast to recognize that fact. The nation owes it to the Pacific coast states to stand behind them, in necessary measures consistent with

our national honor to relieve them of their difficulties.

The problem incident to negotiations must be accepted as one existing in fact and must be adequately met for the future security and tranquility of our people. We have learned during the anxieties of world war the necessity of making the citizenship of this republic, not only American in heart and soul, but American in every sympathy and every aspiration.

No one can tranquilly contemplate the future of this republic without any anxiety for abundant provision for admission to our shores of only the immigrant who can be assimilated and thoroughly imbued with the American spirit.

From the beginning of the Republic America has been a haven to the oppressed and the aspiring from all the nations of the earth. We have opened our doors freely and have given to the peoples of the world who came to us the nucleus of American opportunity and political liberty. We have come to that stage in our development where necessity must be assumed by those who accept the grant of American opportunity. From this time on we are more concerned with the making of citizens than we are with adding to the manpower of industry or the additional human units in our various activities as a people and a nation, as Governor Stetson has said, we do have the moral, the natural and legal rights to determine who shall or who shall not enter our country and participate in our activities.

With a new realization of the necessity of development of a soul distinctly American in this Republic we favor such modifications of our immigration laws, and such changes in our international understandings, as such a policy relating to those who come among us, as will contribute to the citizens of this republic only assimilated citizens, but the adoption of all those policies of American self-sufficiency and otherwise, as will make our American men and ideals

American Agriculture

I find that your presence gives me confidence to put before the American people through you a consideration of an issue of importance, to which I have been giving attention and care, namely to give a deserved place to the American farmer. He has been taking pride in contributing to which respects "American" and others and none so much against which that which has been necessary for us to adopt protective duties on certain agricultural products. These must be removed by the tariff of agricultural products. It is my opinion that the right must be based upon our existing in the American interest in foreign countries for the American farmer and the American consumer. We are acting through our government to safeguard and balance the interests of all that, indeed, in applying protective duties or removing them, we are not in any way departing from our original intent, which is to act with full conscience in favor of the American consumer. We are doing this in accordance with the rights of all at home and abroad. So far I am informed that we are acting for the right kind of protection and that is "America First."

signature with sufficient prosperity, so that it should share equally with industry, and have equal ability to pay labor, was not only the farmer's business, but everybody's business—the consumer's business, the city dweller's business and the vital concern of everyone who wants to have for himself and his children three meals a day.

All Are Interested.

Because the safety and prosperity of the farmers of this country are our own safety and prosperity and permanence, no man, woman or child in the United States can fail to have an interest in protecting our basic industry—that of agriculture—wherever protection is necessary by the proper use of tariff regulation.

The time has come when we are ceasing to be a food exporting nation and must look well to guaranteeing that we shall be self-sustaining in agriculture in our food supply, not only because you are Americans, and because the preservation of agriculture is vital, all-American interest, and above all, the interest of the consumer.

It may well be that a long list of our farm products will require a Republican protective tariff policy. There is an increasing menace to our productivity of a number of farm products in the opening of those countries which can produce under intensive methods with labor cheap at our own

Dividing Our Markets.

In South Africa, the Argentine, Canada, Siberia, Australia, New Zealand, may, in the advancing years, invade our markets and under-cut our farmers. In the case of wheat, Argentina, corn, sugar from tropical islands, and sugar from Europe; rice from the Orient, beans and peas from the Orient, meat from South America, and other imports may threaten the life of our own production. It will be necessary to give full and adequate tariff protection to those industries.

But I point out to you this fact—and I will always bear it in my own mind—that the Republican protection of

American agricultural industries must not be based upon any group or class which either by its own strength or influence or removal of rates of inflation, etc., can get away, thinks it will profit. One proposal is to give more money return by the tariff of agricultural products. It is my opinion that the right must be based upon our existing in the American interest in foreign countries for the American farmer and the American consumer. We are acting through our government to safeguard and balance the interests of all that, indeed, in applying protective duties or removing them, we are not in any way departing from our original intent, which is to act with full conscience in favor of the American consumer. We are doing this in accordance with the rights of all at home and abroad. So far I am informed that we are acting for the right kind of protection and that is "America First."

A Case Study

I think it is important that this must not be based upon any group or class which either by its own strength or influence or removal of rates of inflation, etc., can get away, thinks it will profit. One proposal is to give more money return by the tariff of agricultural products. It is my opinion that the right must be based upon our existing in the American interest in foreign countries for the American farmer and the American consumer. We are acting through our government to safeguard and balance the interests of all that, indeed, in applying protective duties or removing them, we are not in any way departing from our original intent, which is to act with full conscience in favor of the American consumer. We are doing this in accordance with the rights of all at home and abroad. So far I am informed that we are acting for the right kind of protection and that is "America First."

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